Phoenix Study p. 298-299

THE
Dan Smoot Report

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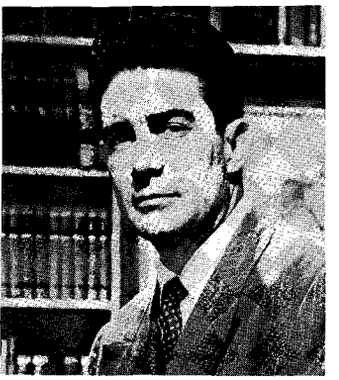

DAN SMOOT

THE MEANING OF CHANGE

Senator Barry Goldwater has said that his candidacy offers the American people a "choice, not an echo." The phrase is a reminder that, when liberals controlled both parties, one party merely echoed the policies of the other. The Senator promises that, if elected, he will make a *change* in policies.[1]

On September 10, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson denounced Senator Goldwater for promising change, saying:

"From the election of 1789 to the election of 1960, the choices for the American presidency have never meant changes in the broad purposes of the American people . . . . But this is not the choice this year.

"There are . . . reckless factions . . . . they confront the American people and demand that you make a choice."[1]

President Johnson failed to mention that Franklin D. Roosevelt effected a complete revolution in government policies during the first 100 days of the new deal. It *is* accurate to say, however, that from the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 to the nomination of Barry Goldwater in 1964, Republican and Democrat presidential candidates have given the American people no opportunity for real change in government policies. President Johnson made this point clear when, while criticizing Senator Goldwater for promising change, he praised former President Dwight Eisenhower and Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton — Republicans devoted to continuation of liberal policies.[1]

President Johnson and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey claim that change would be reckless and might lead to war. Senator Goldwater replies that our involvement in three major wars in this century occurred during Democrat administrations and says we need a change in policy to avoid another catastrophic involvement. *What would a real change mean?*

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FOREIGN POLICY — A *real* change in foreign policy would mean alteration of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relationship, because this is the dominant consideration in foreign affairs. To discover what our present policy toward the Soviets is, we must turn to an obscure, 141-page document called the Phoenix Study. The study was begun in the early days of the Kennedy administration. It was conducted (at taxpayers' expense) by the Institute for Defense Analyses, for the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The full title of the Phoenix Study is *Common Action for the Control of Conflict: An Approach to the Problem of International Tensions and Arms Control.* It was completed on July 18, 1963, when 300 copies were quietly distributed to key personnel in government, including members of a U. S. team then negotiating the test-ban treaty in Moscow. President Kennedy followed, and President Johnson continues to follow, policy outlined in the Phoenix Study.[2]

The American public heard nothing about the Phoenix Study until November 18, 1963, when *U. S. News & World Report* published an article, "New Policy Line For U.S. — 'Togetherness' With Russia." From the article:

"Strategy of the U. S. in dealing with Soviet Russia is in process of sharp change . . . . At the heart of the new strategy is this plan: Seek a *detente* — a period of relaxation or informal truce — during which an 'interdependence' between the U. S. and the Soviet Union can be established . . . .

"Whether Khruschev will co-operate to further this trend remains to be seen . . . .

"A blueprint for the latest American strategy . . . is provided by a 141-page paper, [the Phoenix Study] . . . . Special attention is being given to the . . . study because of two recent speeches by President Kennedy — one at the University of Maine on October 19, and an earlier one at American University . . . June 10. In these speeches, and in other statements, President Kennedy appears to have followed closely the policy line suggested by the new paper on control of conflict . . . .

"Emphasis is placed by the new strategy on a search for areas where the U. S. and Russia can join in common action. The atomic-test-ban treaty is one such area on which agreement has been reached. Emphasis upon increased trade is another. The 'hot line' teleprinters between the White House . . . and the Kremlin . . . are still another. The 'pen pal' letters — of which there have been at least 40 — between Khrushchev and Kennedy represent another searching action . . . .

"One Congressman [Glenard P. Lipscomb] who had studied the [Phoenix] report said that [its policy of interdependence and togetherness with the Soviets] . . . amounts to 'feeding Communism . . . with one hand while we fight Communism with our other hand in Vietnam.' . . ."

Alice Widener, editor and publisher of *U.S.A.*, devoted four issues of her magazine to the Phoenix Study. Here in essence are a *few* of the Phoenix Study recommendations:[3]

*****The United States should begin disarmament immediately, without even an informal commitment from the Soviets. Presumably, this would encourage them to disarm.**

*****The President should encourage disarmament of the United States by advocating a tax cut. Americans might not approve tax reduction for disarmament. So, the President should deceive them — lead them to believe *economy* is the objective. With the Soviets, however, the President should be honest, letting them know that he cuts taxes to reduce defense spending.**

*****The United States should help the Soviet Union catch up with us, economically, industrially, and agriculturally — because, presumably, when the Soviets no longer envy or fear our superiority, tensions will ease.**

*****The United States should restrain its allies from starting conflicts, hopeful that the Soviets would reciprocate.**

*****The President should seek "tacit" agreements with the Soviets about disarmament, restraint of allies, interdependence — but should not bind them with "open," formal agreements. The reason, apparently: if formal agreements**

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are made and Soviet leaders welsh, the U. S. would lose face unless it took an anti-Soviet position and denounced communist treachery. This would create more tensions and impair the policy of friendly togetherness. If Soviet leaders are not required to make *specific* commitments, and if the world knows nothing about their "tacit" agreements, the President will not be forced to denounce the Soviets, and, thus, to create tensions.

***"*The United States should accept the need for a dual policy of collaboration and conflict as a significant improvement over unmitigated conflict.*" As I read it, this recommendation in the Phoenix Study means that we should continue the policy of giving direct aid to communist countries, and of "collaborating" with them in any other way possible, while at the same time "accepting" the policy of fighting "limited" wars against communism, as in Korea, Laos, and Vietnam. I feel there is even a hint that such "limited" wars might be *arranged*, to keep the world perpetually scared about the danger of all-out war — conditioned to question nothing which Moscow and Washington may do to achieve "relaxation of tensions."**

Alice Widener relates circumstances strongly indicating that the Phoenix Study was (to some degree) an outgrowth of various Pugwash Conferences arranged and financed by Cyrus Eaton, wealthy American industrialist widely known for his pro-Soviet sympathies. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has reported that the Pugwash Conferences were initiated, in part, by communists and pro-communists; that they have served to discredit the United States while supporting the Soviet Union; and that their proceedings, though never made public in the United States, have been reported in full to Khrushchev.[3]

Neither President Johnson nor Senator Goldwater has mentioned the Phoenix Study in campaign speeches. Yet, it seems obvious that the *change* — which Senator Goldwater promises and President Johnson fears — must hinge on continuation or rejection of the policy of togetherness and interdependence with the Soviet Union.

THE SUPREME COURT — On September 11, 1964, Senator Goldwater denounced the Supreme Court for the exercise of "raw and naked power," saying the Court violates the constitutional principle of limited government, and has produced a "breakdown in liberty."[4] It has been reported that President Johnson is also discontented with the Supreme Court,[5] though no specifics have been given; and the President has not publicly criticized the Court.

Senator Goldwater has not said what he would do about the Supreme Court, and, of course, neither has President Johnson. It is obvious, however, that the Court will change in the next eight years.

The present Supreme Court is an Eisenhower Court: four of the justices were appointed by Eisenhower; two, by Kennedy; one, by Truman; two, by Roosevelt. Johnson has no appointee on the Supreme Court.

If Goldwater is President, it can be presumed he will fill vacancies with conservatives who share his view that the federal government must be limited to "performing only . . . *constitutionally sanctioned tasks*."[6] If Johnson is President, he will appoint liberals who share his view that government must have broad power to do anything which the President and a majority of Congress deem proper.

PARTY CONTROL — Since liberal Republicans' last-ditch efforts against Senator Goldwater at the Republican Convention were obviously doomed to defeat *in 1964*, they must have been aimed at the future. By denouncing Goldwater on national television at the Republican Convention, liberals apparently hoped to defeat him in the November election. Defeat at the polls would discredit Goldwater, and party leadership would revert to the eastern establishment (the invisible government) under the banner of William Scranton. If Goldwater is elected, Republican Party leadership will remain where Goldwater put it — in the hands of conservatives.

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If President Johnson *wins* the election, he is likely to drag into power, within the Democrat Party, a Kennedy faction which appears to have long-range plans for taking party control away from the President in 1968 — at least to the extent of forcing Johnson, if he again receives the presidential nomination, to accept Robert F. Kennedy as Vice President. A Johnson victory in New York, California, and Massachusetts this fall *could* sweep Robert F. Kennedy, Edward M. Kennedy, and Pierre Salinger into Senate seats from these three populous states. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (brother-in-law of Robert F. Kennedy), has great political power in Illinois. He is director of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, and close to Ambassador Adlai Stevenson (former Governor of Illinois). As head of the Poverty Program, Shriver will have opportunity to enlarge his political influence in Illinois. With four hard-core Kennedy men dominating Democrat Party machinery in four populous states, the Kennedy faction might wrest control from Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION — On June 22, 1964, Samuel C. Brightman (Deputy Chairman for Public Information of the Democratic National Committee) sent a letter to broadcast stations calling attention to an article in *Nation* magazine which labeled a few conservative broadcasts (including mine) "Hate Clubs of the Air." Mr. Brightman warned that stations running such broadcasts will make themselves "liable" (under FCC's "Fairness Doctrine") to grant free rebuttal time to the Democratic National Committee.[7] Since then, the Committee has heckled stations for free time to answer me. Some stations have cancelled, others refused to accept, my broadcasts.

Election of President Johnson would intensify the FCC-backed drive to force conservative commentary off the air. A Goldwater administration could curb illegal powers of all regulatory agencies, particularly FCC.

Third Roll Calls, 1964

MEAT IMPORTS: On July 28, 1964, the Senate passed HR 1839, creating a quota system to protect American growers against excessive imports of beef, veal, mutton, and lamb. The House passed the bill on August 18. President Johnson, opposed to this *constitutional* form of protection, wanted to put ranchers on federal subsidy. In Column 28 under *Senate*, and in Column 27 under *House*, C indicates a conservative vote for HR 1839.

INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT: The International Coffee Agreement was intended to regulate price and distribution of coffee, guaranteeing to most coffee-producing nations (including communist Cuba) markets and reasonable prices. The Kennedy administration had promised that the agreement would reduce the price of coffee for American consumers, but prices began to rise as soon as the agreement was adopted. The Senate ratified the International Coffee Agreement, thus enabling it to go into effect (on December 31, 1963); but U. S. participation could not be complete until Congress passed "implementing" legislation. The Senate approved such legislation (HR 8864) on July 31, 1964; but on August 18, the House defeated the bill. In Column 29 under *Senate*, and in Column 28 under *House*, C indicates a conservative vote against implementing the International Coffee Agreement.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WELFARE: On July 31, 1964, the Senate rejected a Johnson-supported amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill (HR 10199). Sponsored by Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff (Democrat, Connecticut), the amendment would have increased federal funds for dependent children of unemployed parents in the District. Debates centered around abuses in District welfare programs, uncovered in recent years by congressional committees. In Column 30 under *Senate*, C indicates a conservative vote against increasing District of Columbia welfare funds.

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HELICOPTER SUBSIDIES: Federal subsidies for operating downtown-to-airport helicopter services in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York have been averaging 4.3 million dollars a year. When HR 11296 (appropriation bill for the office of the President and executive agencies) was debated in the Senate, an effort was made to stop subsidies for helicopter service. The Senate voted for the subsidies, on August 5, 1964. In Column 31 under *Senate*, C indicates a conservative vote against helicopter subsidies.

FOREIGN AID: On August 13, 1964, the Senate passed an amendment (by Senator John G. Tower, Texas Republican) to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill, stopping aid to Indonesia and terminating U. S. military training for Indonesian nationals. On the same day, however, the Senate adopted an amendment (by Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat) authorizing use of U. S.-owned foreign currencies to maintain, in communist Poland, a cemetery for Poles killed during the Warsaw uprising of 1944. In Column 32 under *Senate*, C indicates a conservative vote for stopping aid to Indonesia. In Column 33 under *Senate,* C indicates a conservative vote against use of American money to maintain the cemetery in communist Poland.

MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY: On September 2, 1964, the Senate adopted a Johnson-sponsored proposal to add the controversial medicare program to the social security system. On September 3, the Senate passed the 1964 Social Security Amendments Bill (with the medicare provision in it). In Column 34 under *Senate*, C indicates a conservative vote against the medicare provision. In Column 35 under *Senate*, C indicates a conservative vote against the whole Social Security Amendments Bill with the medicare provision in it.

The House had already passed the Social Security Amendments Bill (without medicare), but must now act on the bill as amended by the Senate.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST PUBLIC POWER: On August 18, 1964, the House approved S 1007 (subsequently passed by voice vote in the Senate) authorizing federal construction of a utility line from government-owned hydroelectric plants in the Pacific Northwest to carry "surplus" power to the Pacific Southwest. In Column 29 under *House*, C indicates a conservative vote against S 1007.

HOUSING ACT OF 1964: On August 19, 1964, the House approved the Conference Report on S 3049 (approved by voice vote in the Senate the same day), authorizing $1,130,750,000.00 for new and existing programs of public housing and urban renewal, through September 30, 1965. In Column 30 under *House*, C indicates a conservative vote against the Housing Act.

NATIONAL ARTS COUNCIL: On August 20, 1964, the House passed HR 9586, creating a National Arts Council. The bill does not authorize funds for the "arts," but its sponsors say they will demand tax money next year. Opponents, pointing out that "arts" are not defined, say this bill will eventually enable the federal government to subsidize "everything from belly-dancing to ballet." In Column 31 under *House*, C indicates a conservative vote against establishing the National Arts Council. The Senate passed HR 9586 by voice vote.

FOOTNOTES

(1) "Factions Try To Split U. S., LBJ Charges," by Mike Quinn, *The Dallas Morning News,* September 11, 1964, Section 1, p. 1

(2) "Communism," speech by U. S. Representative Glenard P. Lipscomb (Rep., Calif.) on the Phoenix Study, *Congressional Record,* February 10, 1964, pp. 2720-4 (daily)

(3) *U.S.A. Magazine* is published every other week at 530 East 72nd Street, New York, New York 10021; subscription, $20.00 a year. The December 13 and 27, 1963, issues were combined into one for discussion of the Phoenix Study, and so were the April 17 and May 1, 1964 issues. My conclusions are based on extensive quotations from the study published in *U.S.A.*

(4) "Goldwater Sees Presidency Peril," by Charles Mohr, *The New York Times,* September 12, 1964, pp. 1, 10

(5) "Both Goldwater and Johnson Discontented With Judiciary," by Richard Wilson, *The Dallas Morning News,* September 14, 1964, Section 1, p. 6

(6) "Text of Goldwater Speech Accepting GOP Nomination," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* July 17, 1964, pp. 1527-9

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(7) Fred J. Cook, author of "Hate Clubs of the Air," also wrote "Hiss" for the *Nation*, in 1957, trying to prove that Alger Hiss was framed by the FBI. On December 7, 1959, *Newsweek* reported that Cook and a fellow reporter had been fired from *The New York World-Telegram and Sun* for false reporting. Several of Cook's articles have been praised by such communist publications as *New Times* and *The World Marxist Review*.

The *Nation* is edited by Carey McWilliams, who has been connected with many communist fronts. Three witnesses, testifying under oath before congressional committees, have identified Mr. McWilliams as a member of the communist party; but he denies the charges.

Particulars about the Democratic National Committee's effort to silence conservative broadcasts, and about Fred Cook and Carey McWilliams, can be obtained (for 20c) from the Church League of America, 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois.

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU getting BA and MA degrees, 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American civilization. From 1942 to 1951, he was an FBI agent: three and a half years on communist investigations; two years on FBI headquarters staff; almost four years on general FBI cases in various places. He resigned from the FBI and, from 1951 to 1955, was commentator on national radio and television programs, giving *both* sides of controversial issues. In July, 1955, he started his present profit-supported, free-enterprise business: publishing *The Dan Smoot Report*, a weekly magazine available by subscription; and producing a weekly news-analysis radio and television broadcast, available for sponsorship by reputable business firms, as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and broadcast give *one* side of important issues: the side that presents documented truth using the American Constitution as a yardstick. If you think Smoot's materials are effective against socialism and communism, you can help immensely—help get subcribers for the *Report*, commercial sponsors for the broadcast.

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

If *The Dan Smoot Report* was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what *you* can do about saving the country from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the *Report?* Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the *Report?* Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of *The Dan Smoot Report* for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books — *The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise?*

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ROLL CALL VOTES
SENATE

A "C" indicates a conservative stand. An "L" indicates a liberal stand. A "O" indicates that the Senator was absent or did not take a public stand. A "-" indicates the Senator was not a member at the time of the vote.

Column #28 -- Meat Import Quotas, HR 1839; #29 -- International Coffee Agreement implementation, HR 8864; #30 -- D. C. Welfare Increase, HR 10199; #31 -- Helicopter Subsidy, HR 11296; #32 -- Stop Aid to Indonesia, HR 11380; #33 -- Polish Cemetery Funds, HR 11380; #34 -- Medicare through Social Security, HR 11865; #35 -- Social Security Increase, HR 11865

	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
ALABAMA								
Hill, Lister (D)	C	L	C	L	C	C	O	O
Sparkman, John J. (D)	C	L	C	L	L	C	C	C
ALASKA								
Bartlett, E. L. (D)	L	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
Gruening, Ernest (D)	C	L	O	L	C	C	L	L
ARIZONA								
Goldwater, Barry (R)	O	O	O	O	O	O	C	O
Hayden, Carl (D)	C	O	C	L	L	O	L	L
ARKANSAS								
Fulbright, J. William (D)	L	L	C	L	L	C	C	O
McClellan, John L. (D)	C	L	C	C	C	C	C	C
CALIFORNIA								
Kuchel, Thomas H. (R)	C	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Salinger, Pierre (D)	-	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
COLORADO								
Allott, Gordon (R)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	C
Dominick, Peter H. (R)	C	C	C	L	C	C	C	C
CONNECTICUT								
Dodd, Thomas J. (D)	L	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Ribicoff, Abraham A. (D)	L	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
DELAWARE								
Boggs, J. Caleb (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C	L
Williams, John J. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	L	C	C
FLORIDA								
Holland, Spessard L. (D)	C	L	C	C	L	L	C	C
Smathers, George A. (D)	C	L	C	C	O	C	C	L
GEORGIA								
Russell, Richard B. (D)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	L
Talmadge, Herman E. (D)	C	C	O	C	C	C	C	L
HAWAII								
Fong, Hiram L. (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C	L
Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
IDAHO								
Church, Frank (D)	C	L	C	C	C	L	L	L
Jordan, Len B. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
ILLINOIS								
Dirksen, Everett M. (R)	C	L	O	L	C	C	C	C
Douglas, Paul H. (D)	L	C	L	L	C	L	L	L
INDIANA								
Bayh, Birch (D)	C	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Hartke, R. Vance (D)	C	L	O	L	C	L	L	L
IOWA								
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. (R)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	O
Miller, Jack (R)	C	C	C	C	C	L	C	C
KANSAS								
Carlson, Frank (R)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Pearson, James B. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	O	C	C
KENTUCKY								
Cooper, John Sherman (R)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	C
Morton, Thruston B. (R)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	C
LOUISIANA								
Ellender, Allen J. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	C
Long, Russell B. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L
MAINE								
Muskie, Edmund S. (D)	C	L	O	C	L	O	L	L
Smith, Margaret Chase (R)	L	L	L	L	C	C	L	L
MARYLAND								
Beall, J. Glenn (R)	L	C	L	L	C	L	C	L
Brewster, Daniel B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy, Edward M. (D)	L	L	L	L	O	O	L	L
Saltonstall, Leverett (R)	L	L	L	L	C	O	C	C

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SENATE (cont'd)

	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
MICHIGAN								
Hart, Philip A. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
McNamara, Pat (D)	L	C	L	L	L	C	L	L
MINNESOTA								
Humphrey, Hubert H. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
McCarthy, Eugene J. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	C	L	L
MISSISSIPPI								
Eastland, James O. (D)	C	L	C	C	C	C	C	C
Stennis, John (D)	C	C	C	L	C	L	C	C
MISSOURI								
Long, Edward V. (D)	C	L	L	C	C	L	L	L
Symington, Stuart (D)	C	L	C	C	C	L	L	L
MONTANA								
Mansfield, Michael J. (D)	C	L	C	L	L	C	L	L
Metcalf, Lee (D)	C	L	O	L	L	L	L	L
NEBRASKA								
Curtis, Carl T. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	L	C	C
Hruska, Roman L. (R)	C	C	C	L	C	L	C	C
NEVADA								
Bible, Alan (D)	C	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Cannon, Howard W. (D)	C	O	C	O	O	O	L	L
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Cotton, Norris (R)	C	C	C	L	C	L	C	L
McIntyre, Thomas J. (D)	C	C	L	C	C	L	L	L
NEW JERSEY								
Case, Clifford P. (R)	L	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Williams, Harrison A., Jr.(D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
NEW MEXICO								
Anderson, Clinton P. (D)	C	L	O	L	O	O	L	L
Mechem, Edwin L. (R)	C	O	O	L	C	C	C	C

	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
NEW YORK								
Javits, Jacob K. (R)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Keating, Kenneth B. (R)	L	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
NORTH CAROLINA								
Ervin, Sam J., Jr. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	C	C	C
Jordan, B. Everett (D)	C	L	C	C	C	C	C	L
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick, Quentin N. (D)	C	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Young, Milton R. (R)	C	C	C	L	C	L	C	C
OHIO								
Lausche, Frank J. (D)	C	L	C	C	C	O	C	C
Young, Stephen M. (D)	C	C	C	C	L	L	L	L
OKLAHOMA								
Edmondson, J. Howard (D)	C	O	C	L	L	L	C	C
Monroney, A. S. (Mike) (D)	C	L	L	L	L	C	L	L
OREGON								
Morse, Wayne (D)	C	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Neuberger, Maurine B. (D)	C	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
PENNSYLVANIA								
Clark, Joseph S., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	C	L	L	L	L
Scott, Hugh (R)	L	L	L	C	C	L	C	L
RHODE ISLAND								
Pastore, John O. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Pell, Claiborne (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Johnston, Olin D. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	C	L	L
Thurmond, Strom (R)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern, George (D)	C	L	L	C	L	O	L	L
Mundt, Karl E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	L	C	C
TENNESSEE								
Gore, Albert (D)	C	C	L	C	L	C	L	L
Walters, Herbert S. (D)	C	L	C	C	O	O	C	L
TEXAS								
Tower, John G. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Yarborough, Ralph W. (D)	C	O	O	L	L	O	L	L
UTAH								
Bennett, Wallace F. (R)	C	C	C	L	C	C	C	C
Moss, Frank E. (D)	C	L	O	C	C	C	L	L
VERMONT								
Aiken, George D. (R)	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L
Prouty, Winston L. (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C	L
VIRGINIA								
Byrd, Harry Flood (D)	C	C	C	O	C	C	C	C
Robertson, A. Willis (D)	C	L	C	C	C	C	C	C
WASHINGTON								
Jackson, Henry M. (D)	C	L	O	L	C	C	L	L
Magnuson, Warren G. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	L	L	L
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd, Robert C. (D)	C	L	C	L	C	L	L	L
Randolph, Jennings (D)	C	L	C	L	C	L	L	L
WISCONSIN								
Nelson, Gaylord A. (D)	C	L	L	C	C	L	L	L
Proxmire, William (D)	C	C	L	C	C	L	L	L
WYOMING								
McGee, Gale W. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	C	L	L
Simpson, Milward L. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

HOUSE

A "C" indicates a conservative stand. An "L" indicates a liberal stand. A "O" indicates that the Representative was absent or did not take a public stand.

Column #27 -- Meat Import Quotas, HR 1839; #28 -- International Coffee Agreement implementation, HR 8864; #29 -- Pacific Northwest Power, S 1007; #30 -- Housing Act of 1964, S 3049; #31 -- National Council on the Arts, HR 9586

	27	28	29	30	31
ALABAMA					
Andrews, George W. (D)	C	C	C	C	L
Elliott, Carl (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Grant, George M. (D)	C	L	C	C	L
Huddleston, George, Jr. (D)	C	L	C	C	C
Jones, Robert E. (D)	C	O	O	O	O
Rains, Albert (D)	C	O	O	L	O
Roberts, Kenneth A. (D)	C	O	C	L	O
Selden, Armistead I., Jr. (D)	C	L	C	C	L
ALASKA					
Rivers, Ralph J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
ARIZONA					
Rhodes, John J. (R)	C	L	L	C	C
Senner, George F., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Udall, Morris K. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
ARKANSAS					
Gathings, E. C. (D)	C	L	C	C	C
Harris, Oren (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Mills, Wilbur D. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Trimble, James W. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
CALIFORNIA					
Baldwin, John F., Jr. (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Bell, Alphonzo E., Jr. (R)	L	L	L	L	C
Brown, George E., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Burkhalter, Everett G. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Burton, Phillip (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Cameron, Ronald B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Clausen, Don H. (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Clawson, Del (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Cohelan, Jeffery (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Corman, James C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Edwards, W. Donlon (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Gubser, Charles S. (R)	L	C	L	L	C
Hagen, Harlan (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Hanna, Richard T. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Hawkins, Augustus F. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Holifield, Chet (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Hosmer, Craig (R)	L	L	L	L	C
Johnson, Harold T. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
King, Cecil R. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Leggett, Robert L. (D)	L	L	L	L	O
Lipscomb, Glenard P. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Mailliard, William S. (R)	L	L	L	L	L
Martin, Minor C. (R)	L	C	L	L	C
McFall, John J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Miller, George P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Moss, John E. (D)	C	L	L	L	O
Roosevelt, James (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Roybal, Edward R. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Sheppard, Harry R. (D)	O	O	O	L	O
Sisk, B. F. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Smith, H. Allen (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Talcott, Burt L. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Teague, Charles M. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Utt, James B. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
Van Deerlin, Lionel (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Wilson, Bob (R)	L	C	L	L	C
Wilson, Charles H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Younger, J. Arthur (R)	L	C	L	L	C

	27	28	29	30	31
COLORADO					
Aspinall, Wayne N. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Brotzman, Donald G. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Chenoweth, J. Edgar (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Rogers, Byron G. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
CONNECTICUT					
Daddario, Emilio Q. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Giaimo, Robert N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Grabowski, Bernard P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Monagan, John S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
St. Onge, William (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Sibal, Abner W. (R)	L	L	C	L	L
DELAWARE					
McDowell, Harris B., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
FLORIDA					
Bennett, Charles E. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Cramer, William C. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Fascell, Dante B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Fuqua, Don (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Gibbons, Sam M. (D)	L	C	C	L	O
Gurney, Edward J. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Haley, James A. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Herlong, A. Sydney, Jr. (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Matthews, D. R. (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Pepper, Claude (D)	C	O	L	L	L
Rogers, Paul G. (D)	C	L	C	C	L
Sikes, Robert L. F. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
GEORGIA					
Davis, John W. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Flynt, John J., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	C	O
Forrester, E. L. (D)	C	O	O	O	O
Hagan, G. Elliott (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Landrum, Phil M. (D)	C	O	O	L	O
Pilcher, J. L. (D)	C	O	O	L	O
Stephens, Robert G., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Tuten, J. Russell (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Vinson, Carl (D)	C	L	O	L	L
Weltner, Charles L. (D)	L	C	L	L	C
HAWAII					
Gill, Thomas P. (D)	O	O	L	L	O
Matsunaga, Spark M. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
IDAHO					
Harding, Ralph R. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
White, Compton I., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
ILLINOIS					
Anderson, John B. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Arends, Leslie C. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Collier, Harold R. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Dawson, William L. (D)	L	O	L	L	O
Derwinski, Edward J. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Findley, Paul (R)	L	C	C	C	C
Finnegan, Edward R. (D)	L	L	L	L	O
Gray, Kenneth J. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Hoffman, Elmer J. (R)	O	O	C	C	C
Kluczynski, John C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Libonati, Roland V. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
McClory, Robert (R)	L	C	C	C	C
McLoskey, Robert T. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Michel, Robert H. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Murphy, William T. (D)	L	L	L	L	L

	27	28	29	30	31
ILLINOIS (cont'd)					
O'Hara, Barratt (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Price, Melvin (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Pucinski, Roman C. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Reid, Charlotte (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Rostenkowski, Daniel (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Rumsfeld, Donald (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Shipley, George E. (D)	C	L	O	O	L
Springer, William L. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
INDIANA					
Adair, E. Ross (R)	O	C	L	C	C
Brademas, John (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Bray, William G. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Bruce, Donald C. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Denton, Winfield K. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Halleck, Charles A. (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Harvey, Ralph (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Madden, Ray J. (D)	L	O	L	L	L
Roudebush, Richard L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Roush, J. Edward (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Wilson, Earl (R)	C	C	C	C	C
IOWA					
Bromwell, James E. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Gross, H. R. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Hoeven, Charles B. (R)	C	O	C	L	C
Jensen, Ben F. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Kyl, John R. (R)	C	O	O	L	C
Schwengel, Fred (R)	C	L	C	L	L
Smith, Neal (D)	L	L	L	L	L
KANSAS					
Avery, William H. (R)	O	O	O	L	L
Dole, Robert (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Ellsworth, Robert F. (R)	C	O	L	L	L
Shriver, Garner E. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Skubitz, Joe (R)	C	C	C	C	C
KENTUCKY					
Chelf, Frank (D)	C	L	O	L	L
Natcher, William H. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Perkins, Carl D. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Siler, Eugene (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Snyder, M. G. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Stubblefield, Frank A. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Watts, John C. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
LOUISIANA					
Boggs, Hale (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Hebert, F. Edward (D)	C	L	L	L	O
Long, Gillis W. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Morrison, James H. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Passman, Otto E. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Thompson, T. Ashton (D)	C	L	O	O	O
Waggonner, Joe D., Jr. (D)	C	L	C	L	C
Willis, Edwin E. (D)	C	L	L	O	O
MAINE					
McIntire, Clifford G. (R)	C	C	C	O	L
Tupper, Stanley R. (R)	L	C	L	L	L
MARYLAND					
Fallon, George H. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Friedel, Samuel N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Garmatz, Edward A. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Lankford, Richard E. (D)	L	O	O	O	O

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	27	28	29	30	31
MARYLAND (cont'd)					
Long, Clarence D. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Morton, Rogers C. B. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Sickles, Carlton R. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
MASSACHUSETTS					
Bates, William H. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Boland, Edward P. (D)	L	C	O	L	L
Burke, James A. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Conte, Silvio O. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Donohue, Harold D. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Keith, Hastings (R)	L	C	C	L	O
Macdonald, Torbert H. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
McCormack, John W. (D)					
Martin, Joseph W., Jr. (R)	L	C	O	L	O
Morse, F. Bradford (R)	L	C	C	L	L
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Philbin, Philip J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
MICHIGAN					
Broomfield, William S. (R)	L	L	C	L	L
Cederberg, Elford A. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Chamberlain, Charles E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (D)	L	O	O	L	L
Dingell, John D. (D)	L	O	O	L	O
Ford, Gerald R., Jr. (R)	L	C	C	C	L
Griffin, Robert P. (R)	C	L	C	L	L
Griffiths, Martha W. (D)	L	L	L	L	O
Harvey, James (R)	O	O	O	O	O
Hutchinson, Edward (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Johansen, August E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Knox, Victor A. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Lesinski, John (D)	L	O	O	L	O
Meader, George (R)	C	C	C	L	O
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D)	L	O	O	O	O
O'Hara, James G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Ryan, Harold M. (D)	L	O	O	L	O
Staebler, Neil (D)	L	L	L	L	O
MINNESOTA					
Blatnik, John A. (D)	O	L	O	L	L
Fraser, Donald M. (D)	O	O	L	L	L
Karth, Joseph E. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Langen, Odin (R)	C	C	L	L	C
MacGregor, Clark (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Nelsen, Ancher (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Olson, Alec G. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Quie, Albert H. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
MISSISSIPPI					
Abernethy, Thomas G. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Colmer, William M. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Whitten, Jamie L. (D)	C	L	L	C	C
Williams, John Bell (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Winstead, Arthur (D)	C	C	C	C	C
MISSOURI					
Bolling, Richard (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Curtis, Thomas B. (R)	L	C	C	C	C
Hall, Durward G. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Hull, W. R., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	L	O
Ichord, Richard (D)	C	L	L	O	L
Jones, Paul C. (D)	O	O	O	C	O
Karsten, Frank M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Randall, William J. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Sullivan, Leonor K. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
MONTANA					
Battin, James F. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Olsen, Arnold (D)	C	L	L	L	L
NEBRASKA					
Beermann, Ralph F. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Cunningham, Glenn (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Martin, Dave (R)	C	C	L	C	C
NEVADA					
Baring, Walter S. (D)	O	O	O	O	O
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Cleveland, James C. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Wyman, Louis C. (R)	L	O	C	L	C
NEW JERSEY					
Auchincloss, James C. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Cahill, William T. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Daniels, Dominick V. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Dwyer, Florence P. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr. (R)	C	L	C	L	L
Gallagher, Cornelius E. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Glenn, Milton W. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Joelson, Charles S. (D)	L	C	L	O	L
Minish, Joseph G. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Osmers, Frank C., Jr. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Patten, Edward J., Jr. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (D)	L	C	O	L	L
Thompson, Frank, Jr. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Wallhauser, George M. (R)	L	C	L	L	L
Widnall, William B. (R)	L	C	L	L	L
NEW MEXICO					
Montoya, Joseph M. (D)	C	O	L	L	L
Morris, Thomas G. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
NEW YORK					
Addabbo, Joseph P. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Barry, Robert R. (R)	L	L	L	L	L
Becker, Frank J. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Buckley, Charles A. (D)	L	L	O	O	O
Carey, Hugh L. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Celler, Emanuel (D)	L	O	O	L	L
Delaney, James J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Derounian, Stephen B. (R)	L	C	C	L	C

	27	28	29	30	31
NEW YORK (cont'd)					
Dulski, Thaddeus J. (D)	L	C	O	L	L
Farbstein, Leonard (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Fino, Paul A. (R)	L	C	L	L	O
Gilbert, Jacob H. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Goodell, Charles E. (R)	L	L	C	L	C
Grover, James R., Jr. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Halpern, Seymour (R)	L	C	L	L	L
Healey, James C. (D)	L	L	O	L	O
Horton, Frank J. (R)	C	C	L	L	L
Kelly, Edna F. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Keogh, Eugene J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Kilburn, Clarence E. (R)	L	C	C	C	C
King, Carleton J. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Lindsay, John V. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Miller, William E. (R)	O	O	O	O	O
Multer, Abraham J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Murphy, John M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
O'Brien, Leo W. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Ostertag, Harold C. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Pike, Otis G. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Pillion, John R. (R)	L	C	C	C	C
Pirnie, Alexander (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Powell, Adam Clayton (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Reid, Ogden R. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Riehlman, R. Walter (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Robison, Howard W. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Rooney, John J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Ryan, William Fitts (D)	L	L	L	L	L
St. George, Katharine (R)	C	O	L	L	C
Stratton, Samuel S. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Wharton, J. Ernest (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Wydler, John W. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
NORTH CAROLINA					
Bonner, Herbert C. (D)	C	L	O	L	C
Broyhill, James T. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Cooley, Harold D. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Fountain, L. H. (D)	C	C	C	L	C
Henderson, David N. (D)	C	C	L	L	C
Jonas, Charles Raper (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Kornegay, Horace R. (D)	C	C	C	L	C
Lennon, Alton (D)	C	C	C	L	C
Scott, Ralph J. (D)	C	C	C	L	L
Taylor, Roy A. (D)	C	C	L	L	C
Whitener, Basil L. (D)	C	L	C	L	C
NORTH DAKOTA					
Andrews, Mark (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Short, Don L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
OHIO					
Abele, Homer E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Ashbrook, John M. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Ashley, Thomas L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Ayres, William H. (R)	L	L	L	L	O
Betts, Jackson E. (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Bolton, Frances P. (R)	C	O	O	L	L
Bolton, Oliver P. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Bow, Frank T. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Brown, Clarence J. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Clancy, Donald D. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Devine, Samuel L. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Feighan, Michael A. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Harsha, William H., Jr. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Hays, Wayne L. (D)	C	C	L	L	O
Kirwan, Michael J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Latta, Delbert L. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
McCulloch, William M. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Minshall, William E. (R)	L	C	C	C	C
Mosher, Charles A. (R)	L	C	L	L	L
Rich, Carl W. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Schenck, Paul F. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Secrest, Robert T. (D)	C	C	L	L	C
Taft, Robert, Jr. (R)	C	C	L	L	L
Vanik, Charles A. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
OKLAHOMA					
Albert, Carl (D)	C	O	L	L	L
Belcher, Page (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Edmondson, Ed (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Jarman, John (D)	C	L	C	L	C
Steed, Tom (D)	C	L	L	L	O
Wickersham, Victor (D)	C	L	L	L	L
OREGON					
Duncan, Robert B. (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Green, Edith (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Norblad, Walter (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Ullman, Al (D)	C	L	O	L	L
PENNSYLVANIA					
Barrett, William A. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Byrne, James A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Clark, Frank M. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Corbett, Robert J. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Curtin, Willard S. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Dague, Paul B. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Dent, John H. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Flood, Daniel J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
Fulton, James G. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Goodling, George A. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Green, William J., III (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Holland, Elmer J. (D)	L	L	O	L	O
Johnson, Albert W. (R)	C	L	C	L	L
Kunkel, John C. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
McDade, Joseph M. (R)	C	C	C	L	L

	27	28	29	30	31
PENNSYLVANIA (cont'd)					
Milliken, William H., Jr. (R)	L	C	C	L	C
Moorehead, William S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Morgan, Thomas E. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Nix, Robert N. C. (D)	L	L	L	L	O
Rhodes, George M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Rooney, Fred B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Saylor, John P. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Schneebeli, Herman T. (R)	L	L	C	L	L
Schweiker, Richard S. (R)	L	C	C	L	L
Toll, Herman (D)	L	L	L	O	L
Weaver, James D. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Whalley, J. Irving (R)	O	O	O	L	O
RHODE ISLAND					
Fogarty, John E. (D)	L	C	C	L	L
St. Germain, Fernand J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Ashmore, Robert T. (D)	C	L	C	C	C
Dorn, W. J. Bryan (D)	C	L	C	C	C
McMillan, John L. (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Rivers, L. Mendel (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Watson, Albert W. (D)	C	L	C	C	C
SOUTH DAKOTA					
Berry, E. Y. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Reifel, Ben (R)	C	C	L	L	L
TENNESSEE					
Baker, Irene B. (R)	C	L	L	L	C
Bass, Ross (D)	C	L	O	L	O
Brock, William E., III (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Davis, Clifford (D)	C	O	O	L	O
Everett, Robert A. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Evins, Joe L. (D)	C	L	O	L	L
Fulton, Richard (D)	C	L	O	L	L
Murray, Tom (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Quillen, James H. (R)	C	L	C	C	C
TEXAS					
Alger, Bruce (R)	C	O	C	C	C
Beckworth, Lindley (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Brooks, Jack (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Burleson, Omar (D)	C	L	C	C	C
Casey, Robert R. (D)	C	L	C	C	C
Dowdy, John (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Fisher, O. Clark (D)	C	L	C	C	O
Foreman, Ed (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Gonzalez, Henry B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Kilgore, Joe M. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Mahon, George H. (D)	C	L	L	C	L
Patman, Wright (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Pickle, Jake (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Poage, William R. (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Pool, Joe (D)	C	O	C	C	C
Purcell, Graham (D)	C	L	L	L	O
Roberts, Ray (D)	C	L	L	L	C
Rogers, Walter (D)	C	L	L	C	C
Teague, Olin E. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Thomas, Albert (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Thompson, Clark W. (D)	C	L	O	L	L
Wright, James C. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Young, John (D)	C	L	L	L	L
UTAH					
Burton, Laurence J. (R)	C	C	C	L	O
Lloyd, Sherman P. (R)	C	C	O	L	L
VERMONT					
Stafford, Robert T. (R)	C	C	L	L	L
VIRGINIA					
Abbitt, Watkins M. (D)	C	C	C	C	L
Broyhill, Joel T. (R)	C	C	C	L	L
Downing, Thomas N. (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Gary, J. Vaughan (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Hardy, Porter, Jr. (D)	C	L	C	L	L
Jennings, W. Pat (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Marsh, John O., Jr. (D)	C	C	C	C	L
Poff, Richard H. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Smith, Howard W. (D)	C	C	O	C	C
Tuck, William M. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
WASHINGTON					
Hansen, Julia B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Horan, Walt (R)	C	C	L	L	C
May, Catherine (R)	C	C	L	L	O
Pelly, Thomas M. (R)	L	C	L	L	L
Stinson, K. William (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Tollefson, Thor C. (R)	O	O	L	L	O
Westland, Jack (R)	C	C	L	L	C
WEST VIRGINIA					
Heckler, Ken (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Kee, Elizabeth (D)	C	O	O	O	O
Moore, Arch A., Jr. (R)	C	C	C	L	C
Slack, John M., Jr. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
Staggers, Harley O. (D)	C	L	L	L	L
WISCONSIN					
Byrnes, John W. (R)	C	L	L	L	L
Johnson, Lester R. (D)	C	L	O	L	O
Kastenmeier, Robert W. (D)	C	C	L	L	L
Laird, Melvin R. (R)	C	C	L	L	L
O'Konski, Alvin E. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Reuss, Henry S. (D)	L	C	L	L	O
Schadeberg, Henry C. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Thomson, Vernon W. (R)	C	C	L	L	C
Van Pelt, William K. (R)	C	C	L	L	O
Zablocki, Clement J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
WYOMING					
Harrison, William Henry (R)	C	C	L	C	C

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